

NOV 15 1938

# CLASSICAL WEEKLY

VOL. 32, NO. 4

October 31, 1938

WHOLE NO. 852

## CONTENTS OF THIS ISSUE

### A SEISMOLOGIST SPEAKS

### VERGIL, AENEID 8.454-456

### AUGUSTUS

### REVIEWS

TANTARDINI, *L'Arte Cristiana prima del Rinascimento* (Brown);  
KRAHMER, *Hellenistische Köpfe* (Lehmann-Hartleben)

### ABSTRACTS OF ARTICLES

### RECENT PUBLICATIONS

## A QUIZ FOR LATIN TEACHERS

1. What is the most useful Latin vocabulary?
2. What does a student of antiquity see in London?
3. What can Latin pupils make for display?
4. Are our responsibilities growing lighter?
5. What kind of antics are needed in classrooms?

Answers will be found on page 39, where the Classical Association of the Atlantic States is announcing the program of its annual autumnal

## Conference of Teachers of the Classics

ATLANTIC CITY

NOVEMBER 26

FORENOON

CHALFONTE HOTEL

# **ABSTRACT OF ARTICLES**

THIS regular feature of CLASSICAL WEEKLY succinctly calls attention to periodical literature of interest to students of the classics. An effort is made to summarize and classify all items as soon after publication as possible. Scholars who find exceptionally good studies in unusual publications often submit them for abstracting.

This department is in charge of Professor F. R. B. Godolphin of Princeton University, whose staff at present includes the following regular observers of certain important periodicals:

WALTER ALLEN, Princeton University	<b>Rh</b> (einisches) <b>M</b> (useum)
HOWARD COMFORT, Haverford College	<b>A</b> (merican) <b>J</b> (ournal of) <b>A</b> (rchaeology)
EDWARD F. D'ARMS, University of Colorado	<b>R</b> (evue des) <b>E</b> (tudes) <b>G</b> (reques)
PHILLIP DE LACY, Stanford University	<b>A</b> (merican) <b>J</b> (ournal of) <b>Ph</b> (ilology)
ROBERT E. G. DOWNEY, Princeton University	<b>Byz</b> (antinische) <b>Z</b> (eitschrift)
GEORGE E. DUCKWORTH, Princeton University	<b>Ath</b> (enaeum)
DONALD B. DURHAM, Hamilton College	<b>Hesperia</b>
LUDWIG EDELSTEIN, Johns Hopkins University	<b>A</b> (rchiv für) <b>G</b> (eschichte der) <b>M</b> (edizin und der Naturwissenschaften)
JOHN V. A. FINE, Williams College	<b>C</b> (lassical) <b>Q</b> (uarterly)
KENNETH S. GAPP, Princeton Theological Seminary	<b>Mn</b> (emosyne)
CHESTER C. GREENE, JR., Cornell University	<b>H</b> (ermes)
JOHN F. GUMMERE, William Penn Charter School, Philadelphia	<b>Lang</b> (uage)
CLAYTON MORRIS HALL, Rutgers University	<b>B</b> (ulletin de) <b>C</b> (orrespondance) <b>H</b> (ellénique)
JOHN L. HELLER, University of Minnesota	<b>C</b> (lassical) <b>Ph</b> (ilology)
KARL K. HULLEY, University of Colorado	<b>R</b> (evue) <b>A</b> (rchéologique)
JOHN N. HOUGH, Ohio State University	<b>Ph</b> (ilologus)
ELINOR M. HUSSELMAN, University of Michigan	<b>Aeg</b> (yptus)
ALLEN C. JOHNSON, Princeton University	<b>Klio</b>
GEORGE McCracken, Otterbein College	<b>R</b> (evue des) <b>E</b> (tudes) <b>L</b> (atines)
MALCOLM MacLAREN, JR., Princeton University	<b>R</b> (evue de) <b>Ph</b> (ilologie)
J. C. PLUMBE, Josephinum College	<b>Ph</b> (ilologische) <b>W</b> (ochenschrift)
NORMAN T. PRATT, Princeton University	<b>E</b> (tudes) <b>C</b> (lassiques)
OSCAR W. REINMUTH, University of Oklahoma	<b>J</b> (ournal of) <b>R</b> (oman) <b>S</b> (tudies)
JOHN W. SPAETH, JR., Wesleyan University	<b>Ph</b> (ilological) <b>Q</b> (uarterly)
SHERMAN L. WALLACE, University of Wisconsin	<b>W</b> (iener) <b>S</b> (tudien)

# CLASSICAL WEEKLY

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## COMING ATTRACTIONS

### FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 4

CLASSICAL CLUB OF PHILADELPHIA

Student Christian Association Building, University of Pennsylvania

AUGUSTAN BIMILLENNIUM celebration in conjunction with the Philadelphia Classical Society

SPEAKERS: Professor Allen C. Johnson, Princeton University; Professor L. R. Shero, Swarthmore College; Professor T. R. S. Broughton, Bryn Mawr College

1. Augustus' Associates
2. Aspects of the Augustan Recovery Program
3. Imperialism of Augustus

### SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 5—10 A.M.

NEW YORK CLASSICAL CLUB

Casa Italiana, Columbia University

### FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 11—10:15 A.M.

NEW JERSEY CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION

Seaside Hotel, Atlantic City

Speaker: Miss Mildred Dean, Supervisor of Latin in the Public Schools of the District of Columbia

Topic: Latin: What Can We Do About It?

Joint luncheon of Modern Language and Classical Associations

### SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 26—10 A.M.

CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE

ATLANTIC STATES

Chalfonte Hotel, Atlantic City

President: Professor George D. Hadzsits, University of Pennsylvania

### PROGRAM

PROFESSOR JOHN L. HELLER, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA (An English-Latin Word List for Familiar Concepts)

PRESIDENT HADZSITS (Roman London)

MISS ELIZABETH F. KELLUM, BALTIMORE (Responsibilities of the Latin Teacher)

DR. JOHN F. GUMMERE, PHILADELPHIA (Semantics in the Classroom)

MRS. E. V. STEARNS, WASHINGTON (Building New Highways in the Latin Class)

An exhibition of pupils' work will be held in the meeting room from 8:00 A.M. to 2:00 P.M. Teachers willing to display maps, charts or drawings made by pupils or visual aids used in the classroom will please communicate with Professor James Stinchcomb, University of Pittsburgh

### SATURDAY, DECEMBER 3

CLASSICAL LEAGUE OF THE LEHIGH VALLEY

Muhlenberg College

### A SEISMOLOGIST SPEAKS

My experience in teaching physics to college students for more than twenty years leads me to believe that those who have had a classical training in high school and college are best qualified to pursue a scientific course. This belief results from observation of the work of men taking the academic curriculum and of those specializing in engineering subjects.

Classical training subjects a student to a method and a discipline of thinking and reasoning that enable him to attack scientific problems with skill and precision. This has been demonstrated to my own satisfaction again and again, particularly in advanced physics classes where arts and engineering students are grouped together; the students with the classical background have surpassed the engineers even when the latter had much the more thorough training in sciences. Similar observations have been made repeatedly in my laboratory; the arts student starts off at a disadvantage because the engineer has had courses in manipulation and technique that enable him to do a better mechanical job. Invariably, however, the classically trained student

does the better scientific job, for he probes the heart of the experimental problem while the other is satisfied to know that he has a working experiment.

Among my friends are several who have had a classical training in school and college before becoming physicists; they had a leaning toward things mechanical and when the opportunity came, they developed rare skill in handling lathes and milling machines, largely by self-instruction. I cannot give an example of equal skill and ability among my technically trained friends. Such evidence is not conclusive, but it strengthens my belief that classical training is the true beginning for the future scientist.

The Viennese Professor Bauer summed up the situation in these words: "Give me a student who has been taught his Greek grammar and I will answer for his chemistry." His statement applies equally to physics and I feel that it adequately expresses the relation between classical education and science in general.

WILLIAM A. LYNCH

FORDHAM UNIVERSITY

### Vergil, Aeneid 8.454-456

Life in Florida constantly reminds me of life in Italy, both ancient and modern, as I have set forth elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> It reminds me of the most enjoyable pastime and most profitable occupation that a classical scholar can choose when travelling in Italy, the hunting for the old in the new; for the Italians are, in many ways, the ancient Romans *redivivi*, and the specialist in Roman private life finds survivals and parallels on every hand. May I who am, like Othello, now "declined into the vale of years" suggest to those who are yet on the mountain tops of youth that they try this fascinating quest. I shall limit myself for the moment to just one illustration of how an incident of travel can elucidate an ancient text—I think and hope that it does—and how it can put perhaps new life into the teaching of it. I choose the author who may be the chief concern of High School teachers during a whole lifetime of pedagogy, Vergil.

An excellent translator of the Aeneid, Professor Fairclough (in the Loeb series) renders verses 454-456 of Book VIII after the usual fashion: "While on the Aeolian shores the Lord of Lemnos speeds on his work, the kindly light and the morning song of birds beneath the eaves roused Evander from his humble home." The important words are *matutini volucrum sub culmine cantus*, and the translator evidently sides with those commentators who make the birds swallows and their singing-place the eaves. But the twittering of swallows beneath a straw-built shed would never awaken such an aged patriarch as Evander from his rustic sleep. It must rather have been the rooster, the Stentor of

Cloudecuckooland. His shrill clarion not even Claudius Drusus and the sea-calves could sleep through. In fact, almost the same words as those of Vergil are used by Silius Italicus (14.22) of birds whose voices could be heard from shore to shore across the Straits of Messina:

*matutinos volucrum tramittere cantus.*

Now, no one could question that these birds, at any rate, are cocks. No swallow under any circumstances could twitter that distance but a rooster, stepping high amid a harem of admiring hens, can vocalize his cock-hood over an immense area. To crow the Messina Straits would be for him a mere routine matter. If then it was the bird of dawn that roused Evander, it is evident that we must not put him under the eaves: that might provide a roost fit for a bat but not for the kind of toes that the Creator gave Chanticleer.

Chance or, perhaps I ought to say, Jupiter Pluvius showed me just where to locate him where he could not fall off and yet would awaken the sleeper with more certainty than any inn servant ever did in the happy-go-lucky Italy that I knew before Il Duce disciplined and regimented his people.

Twelve miles from Terracina rises the superb mountain where Circe, recognizing the true nature of the sailors of Odysseus, turned them into swine and would have made an equally felicitous metamorphosis of their captain into another animal which I could but shall not name, if only her intuition as a woman had been a match for her potency as a witch. As we climbed up through the lonely woods on the land side a rainstorm broke. It became so penetrating that the unexpected discovery of a group of *capanne*—much like those that the *guitti* of the Campagna inhabit periodically—in a small clearing led us to take shelter in one, as soon as its owner, showing a delicate feeling of hospitality for us but a certain callousness to the discomfort of animals, had first ejected the family pig. This black creature, being a descendant, we may suppose, of one of the afore-mentioned ancient mariners, went out, grunting disapproval as only a disgruntled sailor can. However, the downpour could do nothing to either of them, so far as I could judge, except improve them. Non dolebam.

Gradually, in the dim light, I discerned the same sort of bed of boughs and the same sort of cock-loft that old Evander must have known. In other words, the wooden crosspiece, just beneath the *culmen*, from which the kettle was suspended over the fire, was where at night they kept their infallible alarm-clock. There the cocks still roost, as they did countless centuries ago when they were working for the aborigines in just such thatched dwellings as the "hut-urns" represent for us. It was the dependable rooster and not "Nature's licensed vagabond, the swallow" that woke up goodman Evander to step over his lofty threshold—an *altum limen* was a good barrier against snakes—and go with his two watch-dogs to call on Aeneas.

<sup>1</sup>An Exile at Home, The General Magazine and Historical Chronicle 39 (1937) 443-454



Nothing but a deluge such as soused Deucalion would ever drive me and my Pyrrha into a *capanna* again, but the hen-tribe is no more fastidious than the porci di Santo Antonio. A swallow is a very different creature from a rooster. Of swallows I can say with Banquo:

Where they most breed and haunt, I have observ'd  
The air is delicate.

In a *capanna* the air is never delicate.

WALTON BROOKS McDANIEL

COCONUT GROVE, FLOUIDA

# AUGUSTUS<sup>1</sup>

Two thousand years ago the event of the year was the exposure of the conspiracy of Catiline by the more distinguished of the two Roman consuls. This abortive revolt was less important than the earlier quarrel of Sulla and Marius or the later quarrel of Pompey and Caesar, but it was an index of the dissatisfaction at Rome. During the discussion of measures to be taken against the conspirators a senator, C. Caesar, took a more prominent part than was his custom. Here for the first time he made himself felt as a spokesman for the democratic party.

In this same year on the 23rd of September Caesar's niece gave birth to a son. Caesar's younger sister Julia had married out of her class. Her husband was a rich tradesman named M. Atius Balbus. Their daughter, Atia, had married a rich *eques*, C. Octavius, who had been brought up amid wealth and obtained the higher offices. About the time of the birth of his son he became praetor. In the next year as governor of Macedonia he acquitted himself so well that M. Cicero advised his brother Quintus to imitate the justice and energy of Octavius.

Young C. Octavius was destined to live a long life and to engage in many activities. Some were highly creditable, some extremely discreditable. His period of dominance in the Roman state lasted for two full generations. It is not possible to include in a short account the varied activities of his life, but by discussing five incidents in his life it may be possible to form some estimate, if not of his importance and of his contribution to Rome, at least of his personal character. These incidents are: His decision to accept his great-uncle's inheritance; his so-called restoration of the republic; the conspiracy of Murena and Caepio; the celebration of the Secular Games; and the defeat of Varus.

*The decision of Octavius to accept his great-uncle's inheritance.* On March 15, 44 B.C. Caesar was assassinated. Seven months earlier he had written a will in which he adopted his great-nephew and made him heir of three-quarters of his estate. The acceptance of the inheritance was not a simple matter. Four specific

difficulties lay in the way. The primary difficulty was that Octavius was only in his nineteenth year. As a companion of Caesar for several periods in the preceding years he had acquired some experience in dealing with problems of administration, but poor health had prevented him from making the most of these opportunities, as it had prevented him from being present in the Spanish campaign which ended at Munda. His education had been excellent and he was apparently quite precocious. According to Nicolaus of Damascus who, writing about the turn of the century, seemed to have had access to the memoirs of Augustus, the boy delivered a public oration when only nine years of age. Despite precocity and wisdom beyond his years the fact remains that he was of an age with which we associate entrance to college.

In addition he was not at the center of the political situation. Caesar had sent him to Apollonia in Illyria. Here he was pursuing his studies close to the legions which Caesar was preparing for a campaign against the Parthians. Moreover, since the death of his own father, Octavius was *sui iuris*. Consequently a *lex curiata* was necessary to approve his adoption. This could easily be blocked by political maneuvering.

Finally the most serious difficulty lay in the situation at Rome. Cicero, the senate and the tyrannicides were all eager for a restoration of the republic, that is for a restoration of senatorial power. However their plans were chaotic and their mistake of killing Caesar and allowing Antony to live was to prove disastrous. The surviving consul, Antony, skilled in political chicanery, had received from Caesar's widow Caesar's papers and much of his private fortune; he had seized the public treasure from the temple of Ops. Moreover since all the ordinances and arrangements of Caesar had been confirmed in a stormy meeting of the senate on March seventeenth, Antony did not hesitate to introduce forged documents among the papers of Caesar by means of which he gained legality for his own measures. In short Antony had already made himself the *de facto* heir of Caesar both politically and privately.

When the news came to Octavius at Apollonia three courses of action were open to him. The one of greatest safety was to refuse the inheritance and live a life free from political troubles. This course was later urged on him by his stepfather Philippus, a man of consular rank. The second possibility was to hurry to the legions prepared for the Parthian war, and at their head to return to the city and avenge the death of Caesar. Such action might be expected to appeal to the rashness of youth, and some of his friends advised it. But Octavius did not yet know the details of the situation at Rome, and recognizing his own lack of military experience he saw dangers in this course. Even early in life his caution warned him of the peril of so irrevocable an action, and his desire for the appearance of legality in his actions was well advanced. The final

<sup>1</sup>This paper was read before the Classical League of the Lehigh Valley at Cedar Crest College December 6, 1937

course had its dangers, but appealed to the young man. He would return to Italy with a few companions and scout the situation before claiming his inheritance. He was determined to take action, but only when he knew the ground.

This combination of determination and caution was characteristic of his whole life. One of his favorite sayings was a Greek proverb, "make haste slowly." His caution should not be overstressed; he was capable of vigorous action. Germanicus in speaking to the rebellious legions in 14 A.D. said "the deified Augustus by his countenance and his glance terrified the legions at Actium." We are accustomed to the placid, benevolent appearance of Augustus in such portraits as the statue from Prima Porta, but a head from Meroë, now in the British Museum, which portrays him as a man of thirty is more characteristic for this period. Here the eyes, made of glass and set in a ring of bronze, give a striking air of vigor and even ferocity to his appearance.

A statement in *Res Gestae* 1.1-2 shows the young man's reflections on this critical decision:

In my nineteenth year in pursuance of my own counsel and with my own money I prepared an army through which I freed the state hampered by the domination of a political party. . . . Those who killed my father I drove into exile, having avenged their deed by legal enactments, and later I twice conquered them in line of battle when they were waging war against the state.

The so-called restoration of the republic. In his autobiography (*Res Gestae* 6.34) Augustus said:

In my sixth and seventh consulships, when I had stopped civil wars, and when by the consent of all I had obtained universal power, I handed back the state from my power to the control of the senate and the Roman people. . . . After that time I surpassed all in authority, but I had no more power than those who were my colleagues in the magistracy.

The actual event took place when Augustus, to call him by a name decreed to him by the senate three days later, on January the thirteenth addressed the senate in a memorable speech. Cassius Dio records this speech (53.3-10) at length and this record, although it may not preserve the wording, probably reflects the thought. There is no general agreement on the value of this speech. Dio's use of speeches is of course well known; cf. particularly Schwartz in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie* III (Stuttgart 1899) cols. 1717-1720, s.v. Cassius no. 40. Wherever there is no specific material to use as a counter-check it is dangerous to rely on Dio's account, but at this point in his narrative the insertion of the speech seems pointless unless some such speech had originally been delivered. Jones (*C.A.H.* X 127f.) doubts the authenticity of the speech, but Homo speaks as though a transcript of the *acta senatus* had been preserved (L. Homo, *Roman Political Institutions*, New York 1929, 212-215).

A few excerpts are of particular interest.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup>The translation is from Cary's revision of Foster in the Loeb Classical Library, Dio's *Roman History* VI, London 1917

No one will be able to say that it was to win absolute power that I did whatever has hitherto been done. Nay, I give up my office completely, and restore to you absolutely everything, the army, the laws, and the provinces, not only those which you committed to me, but also those which I myself later acquired for you. Thus my very deeds also will prove to you that even at the outset I desired no position of power, but in my truth wished to avenge my father, cruelly murdered, and to extricate the city from great evils which came on unceasingly. . . . Do not, on the other hand, condemn me as foolish because, when it is in my power to rule over you and to hold so great a sovereignty over this vast world, I do not wish it. . . . I voluntarily and of my own motion resign so great a dominion and give up so vast a possession.

Briefly the situation was this. In 43 B.C. Antony, Lepidus and Octavian had combined, and by the passage of a tribunician law had been given supreme powers as *triumviri reipublicae constituendae* for a period of slightly more than five years. This power was extended in 37, presumably for another period of five years. In 33 Octavian was consul, in 32 two of Antony's partisans were consuls. When Antony offered to lay down his special power and his friends introduced a measure forcing Octavian to do the same, the measure was vetoed. Octavian in Rome had the assembly abrogate Antony's *imperium*. Octavian then entered a series of consulships which kept him in that office from 31 to 23.

When in 32 he took these measures he justified himself by having a will made by Antony, or forged by Antony's enemies, published. This will disposed of the Eastern provinces to the house of Cleopatra. War was now declared on Cleopatra, and an oath of fealty was sworn by senators and western provinces to Octavian. This oath, the continuous consulships, the triumviral *imperium* which he had not surrendered, and the powers necessary for the continuance of the war with Antony were the chief bases of the power of Octavian in January of 27 B.C. These powers were either unconstitutional or at least alien to the senatorial conception of the constitution.

The question now rises as to whether Augustus really intended to surrender his powers and reestablish the senatorial supremacy. This issue which cannot be definitely settled has been debated extensively. Cassius Dio had no doubt that he was insincere, and that his offer was an indirect means of having his powers legally confirmed. Dio a little before even presents a dramatic scene in which Agrippa delivered a speech urging him to restore the republic, and Maecenas delivered a speech urging him to hold the supreme power. After the speeches Augustus praised Agrippa, but according to Dio followed the advice of Maecenas. It is of course quite possible that Augustus was genuinely anxious to lay down his power. His health was bad; he may have thought that peace was then possible at Rome without one man in definite control.

However, it is more probable that Dio was right. Certain factors in the situation point to the insincerity

of Augustus. This was, as has been pointed out, the ideal opportunity to legalize his position. More cogent in determining the attitude of Augustus is the fact that in the preceding year (28 B.C.) Augustus had held the consulship for the full term of twelve months. Moreover for both 28 and 27 B.C. his colleague in the consulship was his loyal friend M. Agrippa. Hence, had there been any hitch in the proceedings, and had some high-spirited republican senators insisted on taking him too literally, he and Agrippa could have held the reins. As is well known, the resettlement of 27, supplemented later, established the dual control of Augustus and the senate, but there was never any question about the predominance of Augustus in this diarchy, for among other powers and honors he received the honorary title of Augustus, the military control of all provinces where trouble was likely to break out, the tribunician power, and so forth.

*The conspiracy of Murena and Caepio.* This conspiracy in 23 B.C. against the life of Augustus is shrouded in mystery. In it a man of good character and high connections joined forces with a man of notorious character. Velleius said, "Murena could seem a good man barring this evil deed. Caepio even before it was of the worst character." Caepio has been called the leader in the plot, but that is not certain. Even the date has been the cause of discussion. Dio's account, which is the fullest, is in the list of events for the year 22 B.C. No other literary source gives the date exactly, although Velleius says that the death of Marcellus which occurred in 23 B.C. was about the time of the conspiracy. However in the Capitoline Fasti Murena, who was consul in 23 B.C., is so listed, "... in magistratu mortuus est." Hence we must assume a mistake in the dating of the conspiracy by Dio.

The purpose of the conspiracy and the reason for its occurrence at this particular time are not adequately explained in the ancient sources. According to Dio the conspiracy resulted from dissatisfaction with the verdict in the case of M. Primus who, on trial for waging war in Macedonia without the consent of Augustus, was defended by Murena. Augustus appeared as a witness against Primus, and was openly challenged by Murena. A further mystery is to be seen in Dio's doubt about the actual participation of Murena in the conspiracy. He thought Murena may have been included in the charges because he was outspoken. However, the prominence of the relatives of Murena and the fact that Murena himself was consul make it unlikely that he would have been charged and condemned unless guilty. The reason for the conspiracy must surely have been stronger than mere dissatisfaction with the verdict against Primus.

The dating of the conspiracy in 23 B.C. gives a hint of the reason. This was the year in which Augustus received the tribunician power, which definitely estab-

lished him as the supreme power in the state. To be sure he had early been granted the inviolability of a tribune (36 B.C.) and the tribunician right of giving aid (30 B.C.), but the grant in this year must, in some way not clear to us, have increased markedly the prestige of this source of power, since it is from this year that he dated his *tribunicia potestas*. It seems highly probable that this particular grant was the final grievance which caused Murena and others to endeavor to remove Augustus. Before this some hope may have lingered among the senators of a genuine restoration of the republic, but this seemed to cut off all hope unless drastic action should be taken. This is speculative, of course, but the basis of the speculation seems valid.

The conspirators fled, were tried in their absence and were later killed. The suppression of this conspiracy made it unlikely that any later conspiracy would break the hold of Augustus on the government at Rome. One curious repercussion of the whole affair is worthy of note. Murena had apparently been adopted into the Terentian family. His original name L. Licinius Murena had been changed to A. Terentius Varro Murena. His sister by adoption was Terentia, the wife of Maecenas. Dio says that the influence of Maecenas was unable to save his brother-in-law. At some time after the year 27 B.C. the influence of Maecenas on Augustus seems to have waned. Because of the unofficial character of that influence, it is not possible to date its waning closely. In 29 B.C., when Augustus returned from the east, it was Maecenas whose advice on the maintenance of his power was accepted; about 16 B.C. Maecenas withdrew altogether from public life. At some point in the intervening time the two had drawn apart.

A popular explanation of this has been that Terentia became the mistress of Augustus. Cassius Dio gives the rumor that Augustus went to Gaul in 16 B.C. to be free to carry on this affair, but even the scandal-loving Suetonius did not consider this rumor worth recording. It seems incredible that Augustus would have offended his most trusted adviser in such a way. In 16 B.C. Augustus was in his late forties and was noted for his caution. The anecdote told by Suetonius concerning this conspiracy is all that is needed to explain this estrangement. Augustus found Maecenas lacking in ability to keep a secret, since he told his wife, Terentia, that the conspiracy of Murena had been betrayed. Undoubtedly Terentia passed this on to Murena who with Caepio fled from the city. Augustus would not be likely to look with complaisance on this betrayal of his confidence, since he considered the conspiracy so serious that Tiberius conducted the prosecution, and after the conspiracy was crushed Augustus allowed sacrifices to be offered as if for a victory.

*The celebration of the Secular games.* In the year 17 B.C. Augustus consolidated his attempts to reestablish the dignity and authority of older religious forms



by celebrating the Secular games, which had been omitted because of the disturbances of civil wars. The games were under the supervision of the *quindecimviri sacris faciundis*. Augustus and Agrippa as members of that priestly association played the most prominent part in the celebration. Augustus identified himself closely with it not only in this capacity, but also as *pontifex maximus*, and personally took a large part in the ceremonies. In his autobiography he says, "For the association of *quindecimviri* I as head of the association together with M. Agrippa, my colleague, celebrated the Secular games in the consulship of C. Furnius and C. Silanus."

The most complete account of these games is in a long, fragmentary inscription found in Rome. The contents include a letter to the *quindecimviri* from Augustus outlining the celebration, the preliminary preparations on the last six days of May, the sacrifices on the first three days of June, and the sacrifice by Augustus and Agrippa to Apollo and Diana on the third of June. The ceremonies of the third included the singing of a hymn by twenty-seven boys and twenty-seven girls on the Palatine and on the Capitoline. It is also recorded *carmen composuit Q. Horatius Flaccus*; this hymn is the extant *Carmen saeculare*. On the succeeding days games and exhibitions were given for the amusement of the people. The great procession on the 3rd of June was stately and impressive: at the head came Augustus as *pontifex maximus*, then the senate, the magistrates, the *quindecimviri*, the associations of priests, the Vestal virgins, and 110 matrons, one for each year of the *saeculum*. The awe-inspiring occasion is best shown by quotation from the inscription:

On the following night on the plain by the Tiber the emperor Caesar Augustus according to the Achaean rites sacrificed to the Fates nine female lambs to be consumed and according to the same rites nine female goats, and prayed in this manner: "Fates! As has been written for you in the (Sibylline) books because of these things and because it would be better for the Roman citizens, let sacrifice be made to you of nine female lambs and nine female goats: I seek and pray that you may increase the power and majesty of the Roman citizens in war and in peace and that the Latins may obey and that you may grant eternal victory and health to the Roman citizens, and favor the Roman citizens and the legions of the Roman citizens and preserve safe the republic of the Roman citizens, that you may be of good will and propitious to the Roman citizens, to the association of the *quindecimviri*, to me, to my house, to my family, and that you may accept this sacrifice of nine female lambs and nine female goats proper for sacrifice; because of these things be honored with the sacrifice of this female lamb and become of good will and propitious to the Roman citizens, the association of the *quindecimviri*, to me, to my house, to my family."

Here we have a dignified picture of the first of Roman citizens identifying himself with the whole of the Roman state by the antique associations of the Roman

state religion. In this way the revival of religion was made to serve the principate.

*The defeat of Varus.* In 9 A.D. P. Quintilius Varus was in command of the legions on the German border. He was the husband of Claudia Pulchra, the great-niece of Augustus. He had previously served as governor of Syria. There he had shown the qualities of rapacity and cruelty which should have warned Augustus to retire him to private life. This unfortunate appointment might be assigned to deterioration of mental power due to advanced age—Augustus was then seventy-one. But this is not likely—it was surely due to the influence of family connections. In earlier years M. Agrippa had been slighted to advance the career of young Marcellus who was the son of the sister of Augustus, and Tiberius was slighted to advance the career of Gaius Caesar, the grandson of Augustus. Augustus was soon to regret the appointment.

The incompetence of his governor resulted in the alienation of the inhabitants of the edge of Germany which bordered on the provinces, in the dissatisfaction of the provincials, in a slackening of the discipline of the vitally important legions on the Rhine frontier, and finally in a disastrous defeat which ended in the loss of three eagles, the suicide of Varus, and the annihilation of three legions and the auxiliaries attached to them. This loss of twenty thousand soldiers was in and of itself serious, since recruiting was a difficult task of that time. But even more serious was the loss of Roman prestige, an intangible asset in maintaining the border of the empire. Here the interesting point is the personal reaction of the emperor which well illustrates the lengths to which Augustus went in identifying himself with the Roman state. The grief over the loss seems almost to suggest mourning for a son, or penance for a sin. Suetonius says (Aug. 23.2):

He vowed great games to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, if the state should return to a better condition, a thing which had been done in the Cimbric and Marsic wars. They say that at last he was so distracted that for months he let his hair and his beard grow and at times banged his head against the door crying out, 'Quintilius Varus, return the legions!' Each year he considered the anniversary of the slaughter with sorrow and mourning.

Fortunately Augustus was able to send to that section his best general, Tiberius, who by long hard work restored order and made the border safe. This was not done by spectacular victories, as Tiberius himself said seven years later, "when I had been sent nine times by the deified Augustus into Germany, I accomplished more by counsel than by force." The disaster to Varus may have been crucial in crystallizing a policy which Augustus bequeathed to his successors that the boundaries of the empire should not be increased. Perhaps Tiberius who at this time was so great an aid to Augustus may have formulated this policy for him. This would account for the unswerving determination with which Tiberius upheld this principle. The violence



of the personal reaction of the emperor to the defeat was probably due at least as much to the addition of this public calamity to the accumulation of his private grief, as to the magnitude of the disaster.

*Conclusion.* It is not surprising that a man whose life was so long, whose activities were so varied, whose power was so great, presents contradictory aspects. Moreover the individual judging him must, perforce, be prejudiced for or against him because of political problems involved. Many questions arise: Did Augustus by his long rule make a more democratic government impossible? Was the empire so inevitable that Augustus was merely an alternative for another and probably worse ruler? Were the proscriptions and other acts of cruelty warranted by the final result? Were the two centuries of peace which followed Actium to be credited to Augustus or would they have resulted even if Augustus had lived a life of private ease?

Any final judgment is impossible, because of the complicated character of the events, and because no one can tell what the result might be in history, were we given a different sequence of vital events. Even a judgment of the personal character of the man must contain contradictions. We cannot tell what was in his mind when he chose the path that led to a power which he may not have foreseen. Again when he offered to restore the republic, he may have been quite sincere. The religious reforms may have been more than impressive form. The death of Murena may have prevented chaos. His genuine grief over the defeat of Varus has in it something of the feeling of the father of his country. But all that can be said finally is that Augustus must be reinterpreted by each new student of Roman history. The very uncertainty makes the study more fascinating. This feeling is not new. Augustus was uncertain about himself; his last words, as reported by Suetonius, are revealing: "He asked his friends who had been admitted, whether he seemed to them to have played out the comedy of life properly, and added this conclusion: 'Since right well it has been done, give your applause and all dismiss me with appreciation.'" This last sentiment, which consisted of two Greek verses, probably the concluding verses of a comedy, may be regarded as ill-placed levity or as a genuine wish to be appreciated—in either case the sentiment does not imply great self-assurance. In the life of Augustus by Nicolaus of Damascus, written during the lifetime of the emperor, we would expect praise; this expectation is not disappointed:

To set forth the full power of this man's intelligence and virtue, both in the administration which he exercised at Rome and in the conduct of great wars both domestic and foreign, is a subject for competition in speech and in essay, that men may win renown by treating it well.

But during his life and after his death the sentiments of different Romans, though often not expressed in public, were undoubtedly of widely varying color. A

century later Tacitus embodied some of these opinions in his account of the death of Augustus. Since Tacitus was not kindly disposed to the Julio-Claudian house he perhaps overstates the faults in his catalogue of the sentiments of the Romans at the occasion of the death of the first Roman Emperor. His statement of the estimates made concerning the character of Augustus is fittingly inconclusive (Ann. 1.9.3-10.6):

Among intelligent men his life was variously praised or blamed. Some (said) "because of his devotion for his father and the distress of the state, in which there was no place at that time for laws, he was driven to civil arms which can neither be prepared nor wielded by honorable methods. He granted many things to Antonius, many to Lepidus, until he could take vengeance on the murderers of his father. After the latter grew old in sloth, and the former became evil because of his desires, there was no other remedy for a discordant fatherland than that it should be ruled by one man. The state was nevertheless set up not as a kingdom or a dictatorship but in the name of its chief citizen. The empire is bounded by the sea, the ocean or remote rivers; the legions, provinces and fleets, all things, are interconnected. There is justice for citizens, moderation for allies; the city itself is magnificently decorated; a few things were done by force only that there might be peace for the rest."

On the other hand this was said, "His devotion for his father and the crisis of the state were seized as pretexts; indeed because of his desire for mastery veterans were aroused by bribery, an army was prepared by a youthful private citizen, the legions of the consul were corrupted, friendship for the Pompeian party was simulated. Soon by a decree of the senate he seized the fasces and the right of a praetor. When Hirtius and Pansa were slain, he seized the troops of both. It is uncertain whether enemies killed them or poison sprinkled is his wound did away with Pansa, and his soldiers and Caesar, instigator of the crime, did away with Hirtius. The consulate was forced from an unwilling senate, and the arms which he received against Antonius were turned against the state. The proscription of citizens, and the division of farmlands were praised not even by those who did them. To be sure the deaths of Cassius and the Bruti were granted to paternal enmity, although it were right to conceal private hate for the public weal; but Pompeius was deceived by the appearance of peace, Lepidus by an assumption of friendship; afterwards Antonius, enticed by the treaties of Tarentum and of Brundisium and by marriage with his sister, paid the penalty of a treacherous relationship with death. After these things there was peace doubtless, but a bloody one: disasters to Lollius and Varus, execution at Rome for Varros, Egnatii and Iulli. Nor did he abstain from domestic crimes: the wife of Nero was seized and in mockery priests were consulted whether she could be legally married when she had conceived, but not yet

born a child. There was the luxury too of Q. Tadius and Vedius Pollio. Finally Livia as a mother was harsh to the state, as a stepmother to the house of the Caesars. Nothing was left for the honor of the gods, since he wished that by means of temples and divine images he be worshipped by attendants and priests. Nor was Tiberius adopted as a successor out of regard or care for the state, but, because he had seen that man's arrogance and savagery, he sought glory for himself by comparison with the worst."

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**Storia dell'Arte, Volume II. L'Arte Cristiana prima del Rinascimento.** By MARIO TANTARDINI. Pages 367. Casa Editrice d'arte e liturgia Beato Angelico, Milan 1938

This volume constitutes the second of a series being produced for high school students. The immensity of the period covered by the author, from the third century A.D. to the fifteenth, naturally results in a rather sketchy and catalogue-like treatment of the material which is not always as readable as it might be. The book is divided into five major divisions: The art of the catacombs, Basilical art, Byzantine art, Mediaeval art, and Gothic art. Only the first three of these will be of interest to classical students although classical influence, as is well known and as Dr. Tantardini mentions, was never entirely lacking in Western art. It was especially noticeable in the Carolingian Renaissance of the ninth century, in the Romanesque art of southern France, and in certain schools of Northern Gothic art.

The author has avoided pronouncements on controversial topics, a commendable attitude in a primer. The latter part of the volume contains several statements which need correction but since they do not refer to classical subjects these corrections will be omitted here. Numerous typographical errors are to be found which it would be useless to enumerate. The Italian is clear and simple and a careful reading of the material by a beginner in the language, now so important for anyone entering the field of classical Roman archaeology, will be valuable.

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**Hellenistisch: Köpfe.** By GERHARD KRAHMER. Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse. Fachgruppe I: Altertumswissenschaft. Neue Folge. Band I, 10. Pages 217-255, plates I-VIII. Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, Göttingen 1936 4M.

Gerhard Krahmer, who died in 1931 from an illness resulting from a grave world war mutilation, has in his brief scientific activity of less than one decade revolutionized one of the most important fields in the history of ancient art: i.e. the history of Hellenistic sculpture

(using the term, as it should become generally accepted, for the period between Alexander and Augustus only). Nobody today can successfully work in this field without studying Krahmer's articles.<sup>1</sup> The publication of an unfinished paper prepared during his last months is a legitimate acknowledgment of the fundamental importance of his whole work and very welcome as a new addition to our still sporadic knowledge of Hellenistic art.

The relative obscurity in this field is partly due to the lack of such detailed written information as we have for the preceding classical period; partly it results from modern prejudices or preposterous generalizations, including presumed parallelisms with ancient poetry and modern styles; partly it is simply the result of a lack of adequate publication and methodical investigation. In the last analysis these facts are all rooted in ancient and modern neo-classical standards of appreciation. Krahmer, carried away by an admirable and genuinely scholarly enthusiasm for a great phenomenon, tried to build up the history of Hellenistic sculpture on a new basis. His approach was basically "Winckelmannian" since, with the background of a solid classical training, he started to collect the works of art dated by external evidence and went on grouping around them stylistically related pieces. For this latter task he created and gradually developed an aesthetic terminology. In this respect, he seems to belong to the German Kunstwissenschaft of the early twentieth century. The strange thing with Krahmer is that he was thoroughly unphilosophic and never denied it, rather emotional than rational, and at the beginning absolutely unaware of the relations of his approach to the categories of H. Wölfflin, for example, which in spite of their shortcomings are infinitely superior as an aesthetic tool. Only relatively late came Krahmer's attempt to reason about the fundamentals of the categories he used in classifying sculptures and to define a basic Greek concept of "organistic" sculpture.<sup>2</sup> His categories and terms including some mental attitudes, such 'streng', 'pompos', gradually concentrated more and more on merely formal analysis of masses, outlines, light and shadow, texture, and decorative and "architectural" structure. Such an approach, of course, is very limited and one-sided. But the results, visible again in this last work, are surprisingly rich. In cutting a way through a wilderness rough tools are efficient.

Krahmer's scheme has been used with some success by Pfuhl for the analysis of portrait heads of Hellenistic kings on coins and in sculpture (Archäol. Jahrbuch, 1930, 1-61). Not limiting himself to portraiture,

<sup>1</sup>The most important of Krahmer's articles are: Röm. Mitt., 1923-4, 138-184; ib., 1931, 130-149; Archäol. Jahrbuch, 1925, 183-205; 1925, 67-106; Nachrichten der Göttinger Ges., 1927, 1-39; Archaeological Ertesitö, 1927, 1-30; 251-269; Athen. Mitt., 1930, 237-272.

<sup>2</sup>Figur und Raum in der ägyptischen und griechisch-archaischen Kunst (Winckelmannsprogramm Halle 28) Halle, 1931.

Krahmer discusses in his last work a number of Hellenistic heads and some related figures. In this discussion there is evidence that he was on the way to revise his former scheme of three periods preceding the neo-classical revival of the first century B.C. into a more flexible and historical evolution with gradual transitions and intermediary stages and into a more intricate pattern which would show the coexistence of various trends. As it is, this article unites a lot of preliminary statements in a sketchy style, sometimes a bit obscure. It may therefore be useful to bring together in a table the various items of his classification which are scattered in the paper:

THIRD CENTURY. FIRST PHASE

Tyche from Antioch  
Praying boy, Berlin  
Statuette, Budapest, (Ertesitő, 1927)  
Head, Barracco (Pl. I, figs. 1,2) <sup>a</sup>

SECOND PHASE

Satyr (Ertesitő, 1927, fig.9)  
Dying Gaul  
Asklepios from Munychia (Pl. II, fig.5) <sup>b</sup>  
Gaul, Cairo (ib., fig.6) <sup>b</sup>  
Ps. Seneca (ib., fig.7) <sup>b</sup>  
Head from Antikythera (ib., fig.8) <sup>a</sup>

THIRD PHASE

Maiden from Antium  
Ps. Hermarch, New York (see 220)  
Satyr and panther (Coll. Somzée, pl. 23)  
Head, Capitole (Pl. I, figs. 3, 4) <sup>a</sup>  
Chrysippos  
Antiochus III, Louvre (Pfuhl, 25, figs. 11, 12)  
Gaul and wife, Ludovisi <sup>b</sup>  
Satyr, Rome (Pl. III, fig. ii).

SECOND CENTURY. FIRST PHASE

Gigantomachy from Pergamon (and related statues)  
Juno Cesi  
Attalos I  
Female head, Capitole (Pl. VII, fig. 28)  
Head from Pergamon (Pl. VIII, fig. 29)

SECOND PHASE

Ps. Pyrrhos, Copenhagen (Pl. VI, figs. 22, 23)

THIRD PHASE

Diadoch, Rome (Pl. IV, figs. 15, 16)  
Bronze head from Delos (Pl. V, fig. 17)  
Group from Lykosura (Pl. V, fig. 18)  
Poseidon, Loeb  
Head from Kos (Pl. VIII, fig. 30)

FOURTH PHASE

Parthenos from Pergamon (Pl. VIII, fig. 31)

FIFTH PHASE

(Beginnings of neo-classicism)

Zeus from Aigeira (Pl. V, fig. 19)  
Eubulides group (Pl. VIII, fig. 32)  
Athena, Boston (Caskey, n. 30)

FIRST CENTURY

Mithridates Eupator, Louvre (Pl. VIII, figs. 25, 26)  
Pompeius (ib., fig. 27)  
Zeus from Otricoli (Pl. V, fig. 20)  
Pugilist, Rome (Pl. VI, fig. 21)

Two different trends (indicated by a and b) are distinguished as contemporary within the third century.

Most of the items of this classification are absolutely convincing to the reviewer. But the limits of such a

formal analysis become clear, when Krahmer, rightly emphasizing stylistic differences between the Dying Gaul and the Ludovisi group, rejects the well-founded and generally accepted belief that they belong to the same work, instead of assuming the cooperation of elder and younger artists.

The editors, to whom we are indebted for the publication of this valuable manuscript, which is the last word of a scholar who was on the way to become the first real connoisseur of Hellenistic sculpture, have done their work carefully and respectfully. In spite of their diligence some passages (249 e.g.) remain obscure. Some mistakes could have been corrected: The last sentence of the paragraph ending on page 239 should begin with "Der Kopf des Diadochen" instead of "Der Kopf von Antikythera."

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ABSTRACTS OF ARTICLES

ANCIENT AUTHORS

**Aristophanes.** PICARD, CH. *Zeus, Aristophane et Socrate.* Refutes V. Coulon REG 50 (1937) 453-454 on interpretation of Clouds 401-402; reference is probably to great temple of Zeus at Olympia, possibly to any one of several in Athens, not to one at Peiraeus.  
REG 51 (1938) 60-63 (Heller)

**Arrianus.** FRIES, CARL. *Zu Arrians Anabasis Alexandri.* Although as a writer Arrianus is a votary of Attic classicism, there are many divergences of style. Examples are listed from the *Anabasis*, particularly for inflection and vocabulary.  
PhW 58 (1938) 591-592 (Plumpe)

**Athenodorus Cananites.** MARKOWSKI, HIERON. *Zu Athenodorus von Tarsos, Sandons Sohn.* Supplements the articles by Philippson in Pauly-Wissowa Suppl. V (1931) 47-55 and by Stein in Prosopographia imperii Romani I (1933) 262.  
PhW 58 (1938) 733-736 (Plumpe)

**Herodotus.** WEBER, LEO. *Lectiones Herodoteae II.* Endeavors to remedy manifestly corrupt passages (4.139, 5.77, 7.183, 9.97) by transposition.  
PhW 58 (1938) 445-448 (Plumpe)

**Horace.** HANSLIN, RUDOLF. *Zu Horaz Od. I 7.* Composed in the year 35, when L. Munatius Plancus was Antony's legate in Syria. The ode is interpreted accordingly.  
PhW 58 (1938) 670-672 (Plumpe)

**Horace.** SILOMON, H. *Bemerkungen zu den Römeroden.* Analyzes the sixth Roman ode as a grand climax and fitting close to the expression in the first five of the qualities needed for Rome's regeneration. Interprets III 6 as Horace's challenge to restore temples and cult statues, not as a seer in 31-28 (so Altheim, *Röm. Religionsgesch.*, 85), but in 27 after the restoration had begun. The restoration of the temples becomes a fulfillment of the ideas previously expressed and binds III 6 and its otherwise discordant final strophe into a spiritual unity with the other five odes.  
Ph 92 (1938) 444-454 (Hough)

**Statius.** ROBSON, D. O. *The Nationality of the Poet Caecilius Statius.* Statius was not a manumitted Gaul, but one of the Samnites who migrated to northern Italy after the Hannibalic War.  
AJPh 59 (1938) 301-308 (De Lacy)



## RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Compiled from publishers' trade lists, American, British, French, German, Italian and Spanish. Some errors and omissions are inevitable, but CW tries to ensure accuracy and completeness. Those who have not written for CW and who wish to submit sample reviews are urged to choose books from this list.

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